WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEFENCE OF REPUBLICANISM. SPEECH OF HON, JOHN J. PERP of Maine.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Jan. 2 The House being in the Committee of the Whole

Mr. PERRY said :

MR. CHAIRMAN: It was not originally my intention to have troubled the House with any remarks upon the message of the President but as this appears to be a "free fight," I make no apology for taking an humble position in the rank and file of the combatants. The Constitution requires that the President, "from time to time, shall give to Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." In performing this duty, the President has taken advantage of his high position, and instead of confining to the last census. Take the population of Ile constitutional limits of discussion has travelled out of the record to arraign the has travelled out of the record to arraign the people of the free States of this Union, and charge upon them numerous derelictions of duty, crimes, and misdemeanors, which, if true are crimes, and misdemeanors, which, if true, are equally disgraceful to them as men and citizens

souri Compromise; and from that time to the present, the President has used his whole official the following power (to use his own language) "to prepare the people of the United States for civil war, to undermine the fabric of the Union, by appeals to passion and sectional prejudice, by trinating the people with reciprocal hatred, and by educating them to stand face to face as ene mies, rather than shoulder to shoulder a friends." I charge that Franklin Pierce and his Administration, backed up by the sham Democracy, have done more to create disunion sentiments, North and South—to weaken the bonds which unite the different sections int one Federal head-to create animosities, ha tred, and bitterness, among the people, and to sow the seeds of sectional strife, which have al ready germinated, and, unless arrested in their growth, will end in a dismemberment of th -than all other causes and agencies pu together.

heat and excitement of the Presidential election had passed away, and the great Republican party of the country had been defeated, the "ver-dict" of the people, about which the President so arrogantly boasts, would have estisfied his malignity of feeling towards the people of the Northern States; that he would have been willing to accord to them at least honesty of pur pose in the discharge of a high constitut duty; and, following the example of Mr Jeffer son, would have sought to allay and quiet, rath er than foment and increase, sectional strife and agitation. But all such hopes and expect-ations proved delusive. The President, aban doned by his friends and smarting under the lash of popular indignation, forgets the rules of honorable warfare, turns "savage" upon the defeated party; and, with characteristic malig nity, hurls his "tomahawk" and flourishes his "scalping knife" at the heads of a million and a half of American citizens he insultingly boasts are " crushed out." Mr. Chairman, among those charged with

desire "to change the domestic institutions of existing States"-" with assaults upon the Con-"-with an intent to "burn cities, rav age fields, and slaughter populations," and "undermine the fabric of the Union," stand prominent the patriotic, high-minded, intelligent people of Maine, which I in part represent good enough patriots in 1852, when they gave and this old Democratic State repudiates both him and his successor, by rolling up a majoridom and the gallant Fremont, he "shakes his gory locks," and cries, "Treason! Treason!" The President not only arraigns Maine, but hurls his poisoned darts at all New Englandthe land of the Pilgrims-where repose the ashes and their illustrious revolutionary compatriots He assails the descendants of the mighty dead and would blot out the memories of Lexington at the tables, and we shall find the true cause of this ebullition of Presidential wrath. In 1852, the six New England States gave General Pierce 173,514 votes; General Scott, 164,931;

and Senator Hale, 57,143. In 1856, the same States gave Buchanar 161,321; Fremont, 306,372; and Fillmore 28, 53. The majority against Buchanan is 173,234, and a Democratic net loss, since 1852,

It is my purpose, upon the present occasion to meet and answer some of the specific charges and assumptions contained in this most extra-

ordinary message.

Speaking of the people of the free States, the President says:

"They seek an object which they well know to be a revolutionary one." * * * * "Well knowing that such, and such only, are the means and consequences of their plans and pur-poses, they endeavor to prepare the people of the United States for civil war." | * * * "They have entered into a path which leads nowhere unless it be to civil war and disunion, and which has no other possible outlet."

After charging the people of the free States with a desire for "civil war," "revolution," and "disunion," and that they "well knew" and were "perfectly aware" of all this, he further

says:
"I confidently believe that the great body of those who inconsiderately took this fatal step are sincerely attached to the Constitution and

By this singular shift he substantially withdraws the charge of "treason," and changes

his indictment to ignorance, imbecility, and fanaticism. This issue I accept, and in my answer shall call to my aid stubborn "facts," as they present themselves in the official records of the country. As a matter of reference, I shall incorporate into my printed remarks the following table, which has been carefully prepared, while nearly all the returns therein con-tained are official: THE VOTE FOR PRESIDENT-1856

	Frement	. Buchana:	n. Fillmore	. Total.
Me. ·	65 514	38,035	3,233	106,782
N. H.	A	32,567	414	71,139
Vt.	39,516	10,577	511	50,649
Mass.	108,190	39,240	19,626	167,626
R. I	11,467	6,680	1,675	19,822
Conn.	42,715	34 995	2,615	80,325
N. Y	274,705	195,878	124,604	595,187
N J		46,943	24,115	99,409
Penn.		230,154	82,177	459,682
Ohio .	187,497	170,874	28,125	389,496
Mich.	71,762	52,139	1,560	125 461
Ind		118,672	23 386	236,874
111		104,279	37,451	238,010
Wis	11117	52,867	579	119,538
Iowa .		36,241	9,444	89 812
Cal. *		42,470	28,327	87,508
Total	1,333,306	1,212,601	387,843	2,933,750

Fremont over Buchanan, 120,705; Fremont over Fillmore, 945,463; Buchanan over Fillmore, 843,758; Fremont and Fillmore over Buchanan, 508,548.

508,548.						
In the	Stave State					
Fremont.	Buchanan. I					
	. 000					

	× (1)	In the	Diate D.	ues.	
	P	remont.	Buchanan.	Fillmore.	Total,
Del.		206	8,003	6,175	14,484
Md.	-	281	39,115	47.462	86,858
Va.		291	89,975	60,039	150,205
N. C.		_	48,246	36,886	85,132
8. C. *			30,000	20,000	50,000
Ga.	100	-	56 617	42,372	98,989
Fia.		_	6,368	4 843	11,211
Ala.		-	46,817	28,557	75,374
Miss.		-	35,655	24,450	60,155
La.		=	22,169	20,709	42,878
Texas	100	-	28,767-	15,244	44,001
Ark.		-	21,908	10,816	32,724
Tenn.	-	_	73,638	66,178	139 816
Ky.	-	3.9	75,916	65,822	139,108
Mo.		-	58,164	48 534	105,688
		_			COLUMN TWO IS NOT

Total - 1,247 638,359 498,117 1,137,723 Buchanan over Fillmore, 140,242; over both,

٠.	Free States. Fremost - 1.334366 Buchanan - 1.212.601 Fillmore - 387,843	Slave States 1.247 638,359 495,117	Total. 1,331,553 1,850 960 8:5,960	174
Υ,	Total - 2,933,750 Per cent of votes - 72 Per cent of Electors 59	1,137,723 29 41	4,071,473 100 100	
7, 1957.	Buchanan over F Fremont over Fillmo Fillmore over Bucha	re, 448.593	; Frem	
on the	By the census of 185			ation in

Recapitulation-Free and Slave.

compare with the great truths of history.

The area of the United States, peace

Territory acquired since 1783 -

Estimated cost of acquired terri-

- 65.037

- 52,199

- 155,980

sentatives in Congress South to two Senators

But who paid for this territory? From of-

ficial documents, and other sources of informa-tion I have consulted, I find that from 1791 to

1850 the revenue collected from customs is as

lected - - - - \$1,169,299,265

Amount of revenue in slave States \$237,976,354

932,222,911

36,894,926

\$895,327,985

. \$219,713,961

of 1783, was

Louisiana purchase Florida purchase

Texas sonexation .

Oregon treaty . Treaty with Mexico .

free State, as follows:

Five slave States - 543,369

and two Representatives North.

Whole amount of revenue col-

A mount of revenue in free States

Expense of collecting in free

Net sum paid into Treasury from

Expense of collecting in slave

Net sums paid into Treasury

from slave States -

California, one free

In the slave States . - 6.222,418 Balance in favor of free States - 7,108,232 White population of-

Nineteen States which voted for Buchanan - - - 10,405,130 Eleven States which voted for Fremont · · · · · · 8,600,174
One State which voted for Fillmore 417,943 Missot i -Arkan as

to the last census. Take the population of Il-linois, which elected the whole Republican State lation between the two parties. Taking this as a basis, let us consult the census returns a lit tle further. As much as I dislike to make in of a great Commonwealth.

Judging the President by his acts, it seems he is determined that Slavery agitation in this country never shall cease. The sound repose country never shall cease. The sound repose in millions, are indirectly charged by the country never shall cease. The sound repose which the nation was enjoying at the time the President with stupidity and ignorance, and present Administration came into power, was soon broken by the ruthless repeal of the Missonri Compromise; and from that time to the

country:				
	FREE SC	HOOL	S.	
States.	free	No. of school	No. o	
Eleven Fremont Str Naneteen Buchanar	ates - 4	13.023	51 913	1 984,011
Fremont States o	ver Bu-	6.027	12.85	0 637,263
			-	
	UBLIC LI			24 16
States.			No. of c libraries	No. of
Eleven Fremont St	ates .		- 800	791.60
Nineteen Buchanat			- 393	530,55
Fremont States ov				
chanan States	er Du-	24	- 407	264,05
SC	CHOOL LI		IES.	
	Numb		Number	Number of vols.
States.	Comu	ol	Sunday	in Sunday school
Eleven Fremont Su	libear	ies.	libraries.	libraries.
Nineteen Buch. Sta	tes - 25		1,260 641	363 519 149,794
	-	_	-	
Fremont States over	D.			

added to the South, out of territory pu chased by the General Government, they have urnished more than three fourths of the pirchase-money paid for the whole. And all this is Northern aggression! NEWSPAPERS. Number of cor Since the adoption of the Federal Constitu-States. Eleven Fremont States - - - Nineteen Buchanan States - tion, nine slave States have been adde to the Union, containing 736,628 square mil is, and seven free States, containing 448.256 square miles, leaving the balance of 288,372 square miles in favor of the South. Maine a d Ver-Premont States over Buchanan States EREE PERSONS OVER TWENTY ONE YEARS OF AGE WHO CANNOT READ OR WRITE.

mont were formed by dividing old Str tes. I en Buchanan States - - might pursue this part of my subject much further by showing the enormous amout is paid Buchanan States over Fremont Slates - 505 421 out of the Treasury for local objects in the District of Columbia, the comparative appropriations for the North and South, and the Every person who glances his eyes over this the eleven Fremont States there are more than six thousand more free schools, and over six great excess of postage paid by the North; but I have no time to do it. With the President, and many of his party, hundred thousand more scholars, than in the everything that does not favor the issitution nineteen Buchapan States-more than double

the number of public libraries, and nearly double of Slavery is "Northern aggression." If the people of the free States think or say that Slathe number of volumes. In common schools very is morally wrong-that it is not a Divine libraries the former leads the latter over eleven institution, and does not contribute to the thousand, and in Sunday school libraries about double, with more than two hundred thousand wealth and prosperity of the country- Northis trumpeted forth through the more Sabbath school scholars. The eleven ern aggression" Fremont States print and send out more than whole country. If the people of the Virth do not leave their peaceful avocations, and turn panting fugitive who is running for lite ty and of free persons over twenty-one years of age dear life, then comes the cry of " North rn agwho cannot read or write are more than thre gression," loud and long. And third y to fol times as numerous in the Buchanan as in the low out the specifications of the President in his bill of indictment, if the teeming villions cording to the population, one in every thirty-six is found in this class, while in the Buchanof the North and South, whose labor s their an S ates it stands one in every thirteen.

The President seems to have forgotten a great only capital, exercise their constitutiona rights in a constitutional manner to preve t the spread of Slavery over free territory, and the degradation of free labor to that of slaves, principle in which all sound political writers agree, to wit: that intelligence is one of the then again comes the old charge of " Northern main pillars of a Republic. Where are we to

look for intelligent political action? Is it where Another charge against the Republican there are comparatively but few schools, few party, made by the President, is an "sttempt on their part, by a sectional organization and books, few newspapers? Is it to those sections of country where many of the people are too ig movement, to usurp the control of the Covernment of the United States." This is, indeed assumes and publishes to the country and the world, under his own hand, that compara a modest charge to be made by the President of the United States against a million and a tive ignorance is necessary to true patriotism and that education and the means of intelligence half of the free electors of this country! To organize a party upon the platform of Washington, of Jefferson, and all the early fathers of the Republic, is "sectionalism;" and to lead men into constructive treason and a desir to overturn the Government. Such is the argument and such are the legitimate conclusion exercise the right of suffrage in a constitutional, legal manner, is a "usurpation!" The Republican party, which assembled at Philadelphia, in their call invited the people of all the States to meet them in convention. It was in no sense an invitation to the people of

growing out of the premises.

2. Another charge made by the President against the Republican party is an intention on their part to "change the domestic institutions" existing States." No assumption can more groundless than this. There is nothing in the platform or principles of the Republican party to support any such allegation. The very first resolution in the Republican platform de clares that the "rights of the States must and shall be preserved." No proof of any such in-tent on the part of the Republican party has or ever can be produced. All that gentlemen on the other side pretend to say in support of this base less charge is, that occasionally a man acting

the abolition of Slavery in the States.

Gov. Adams, of South Carolina, and a large umber of Southern gentlemen-backed up, to very respectable extent, by the Southern ess, all of whom supported Mr. Buchanas and act with the Democratic parly—openly ad voca a revival of the foreign African slave trade; and yet, Southern gentlemen upon this floor and elsewhere contend the Democratic

Why are the supporters of Mr. Buchanan s inwilling to accord to the supporters of Col. fremont the same justice they ask for them elves? Is it fair? Is it right? It it just? I appeal to Southern gentlemen, as honorable men, to answer these questions.

3. Another charge made against the people of the North by the President, is a "long series

of aggressive acts"—"against the constitutional rights of nearly one half of the thirty-one States." This means a war of "aggression" on the part of the sixteen free States against the fifteen slave States of the Union; and the President confines these acts of aggression to the institution of Slavery existing in these last-mentioned States. Strictly speaking, it is not a war upon the South, but upon those interested in slave property in the South. It is an interesting inquiry to ascertain the number of this class of persons, compared with the whole jury to tilling you that the Democratic party was "sectional." This is no fancy sketch;

The following table, from the last censu gives the whole number of slaveholders in the United States.

C Bitca Citates							A. S.
Classificatio	n of	State State		s in t	he U	rited	The copie of the South were exhorted upon the fire and all over the country in the most
States, &c.	Holders of 1 slave.	1 and un-	5 and un-	10 and un- der 20.	60 and un-	Aggregate holders of slaves.	earnest and impressive manner to come up to the screen of Buchanan as one man. This was "anional." If a similar appeal was made by the frepublican party to the people of the
Alabama Arkansas Dist of Col's Delaware	5,204 1,383 760 320	7,737 1,951 539 ::52	6,572 1,365 136 117	5,067 788 39 20		29,295 5,999 1,477 H09	North, that was "sectional." Again, who elected Fuchanan President? Let one of your own own is, the New Orleans Delta of Novem-
Florida Georgia Kentucky Louisiana	699 6,554 9,244 4,797	991 11,716 13,234 6,672	7,701 9,579	588 6,490 5,022	319 5,056 1,198	3,500 38,456 34,385	M. Duchanan must remember that he is
Maryland Mississippi	4,825 3,640 5,762	5,331 6,228 6,578	4,327 3,327 5,143 4,370	2,652 1,822 4,015 1,810		20.670 16,040 23,116 19,185	the Pas dent of a section; that he has been elected by the South; that the North could acord him only four States; and the he must
S Carpi na - Tennesseo		9,668 6,164 10,582	8.129 6.311 8,314	5,898 4,955 4,859	2,528 3.200 2,202	25,506 25,506 33,564	be tro to his position, or an arra it failure from se very beginning."
Virginia 1		15,550	_	9,456 54,595	374 4,850 99 733	7,747 55,063 347,525	[TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEF,]
TITLE 1					20,100	311,020	THE LITE DISTURBANCE IN KANSAS FUR-

White population of slave States, 6,222,418 Only about one seventeenth part of the white four des after the occurrence of the unfortunate population in the South have any property in difficult, in a letter addressed to Mr. Paschall,

slaves, and yet we scarcely ever hear a word or a sentence from that quarter in behalf of almost in the Council; six millions of other citizens, who have not one went Dia thence to the House of Representation in the control of St. Souis, says; ing conviction, on the part of that people, of the institution, under the enjoyment of which, in common with the other six millions of other citizens, who have not one tarthing's pecuniary interest in the flesh and bones of enslaved Africans. Is there no other interest to be looked after in the South but Slavery? One would be led to this conclusion no do it. trom the eternal hue and cry that is made to protect, spread, and perpetuate it.

"Signard corsed him. The Governor paid it matters little to Virginia or South Carolina, no at ution to him, but walked on, when "Northern aggression!" Let us look a little Sherred spit on his back as often as twice; Southern States, whether Missouri emancipates

at this 'mad dog" cry, and see how it will so say the two gentlemen who were with him or not. If the Constitution is to be maintainat the time. I have no idea that Governor ed intact, Slavery might be abolished in every Eq. Miles. Geary knew the extent of the insult until the State in the Union but one, and that one would Sherrard spit upon him as he passed out." 66,900 the Legislative Council in relation to the insult | South must appeal for protection to the phys-118,000 to the Governor, says: 108,052 "I am satisfied in my mind, from what I have 22,955 learned and knew, that Sherrard would have killed the Governor if he had resented the

-2, 136,166 indignity. The Governor was unarmed. How long is our cause to be placed in jeop-- 2. 115.486 quired terri- \$830,000,000 and interests in this or any other country? I am satisfied that we have more to fear from our pretended friends than from our open From territory thus purchased, there have been admitted five new slave States, and one I trust such disgraceful scenes may not oc-

cur again in this Territory. I do not agree with the Governor in everything which he has done, yet I give him all the praise for the good he has done, and freely say that I believe him honest and desirous of doing all the good he On the 18th ult. some of the citizens of Le-

compton held a meeting to denounce the indig-nity offered to Gov. Geary. The propriety of holding this meeting was doubted, and some zentlemen waited upon Gov. Geary, and desired nim to prevent his friends from proceeding in We repeat, from territory purchased and the matter, as it was useless, and calculated to bring on trouble; but he refused, saying "peo-ple had a right to hold what meetings they paid for out of the National Treasury, the slave power has had added five slave States to one free State-eight Senators and fourteen Repreplease." Speaking of the meeting, the St Louis Republican says:

"Upon resolutions (denunciatory of the in sult offered Geary) being read, Sherrard came forward and said that the committee who had reported them, and every man present who enersed them, were "liars, cowards, and scoundrels." A Mr. Sheppard, who resides on a claim near Lecompton, remarked that he was neither a liar, a coward, nor a scoundrel, and that he endorsed the resolutions as right; where-upon Sherrard drew his revolver, and commenced firing upon Sheppard, wounding him twice. Sheppard drew and snapped four caps, and the fifth shot hit Sherrard. The people, of course, became much excited at this wanton riolation of their rights, and several shots were fired, when Sherrard and Sheppard both fell, apparently dead, and the affray was fortunately ended."

John A. W. Jones, E-q., was arrested by Mayor Stewart, as one of the persons who fired upon Sherrard, and he has been held to bail in five thousand dollars.

The Missouri Democrat has a corresponden Excess paid by free States - \$675,314,024 who, writing from Lecompton, says:
"Governor Geary has got two companies of These facts demonstrate and prove that while the people of the North have only had a single State added to their number, to five United States troops here—one of infantry, and one of cavalry. It is reported that he fears assassination at the hands of the Pro-Slavery men and has these troops here for personal protec tion. It is now generally suspected that they are here to prevent the Legislature from being lynched or driven off by the people. A strong disposition to do this is manifested.

For the National Era. ALINE.

BY PAULINA.

Upon the bier they laid her, In a proud ancestral hall Where the stately war-lights flickered, And was draped the pictured wall. There were kindred forms around her. But their haughty brows were hid, And the wreath, that late had crowned her, Lay upon her coffin lid.

Ah! those snowy buds and blossoms, How they kissed the gorgeous pall Ah! those proud and guilty bosoms, Draped in darkness like the wall They had borne her to a bridal, With unwilling heart and hand, But the solemn farce was idle, For she sought the "better land"

When the anthem dirge was sung There were many hearts to love her, There was one despair had wrung Then they laid her in the marble, Where no sighing leaf may wave, Where no tender blossom weepeth

O'er the maiden's early grave. In the drooping willow's screen, Lies the pride of stately Avon, And her name has ne'er been spoken,

Since the day her heart was broken And they draped the pictured wall.

From the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, March 5, 1857. EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.

The cry of emancipation from any section of the slaveholding States breaks upon the Southern ear, under the circumstances that surround us, like an alarm of mutiny at midnight, after the storm has subsided, and while the damages done are being rapidly repaired But four months ago, our institutions and our Union were trembling and tottering under the throes of the most anxious, excited, and painful political contest that has ever agitated this was in no sense an invitation to the people of any particular section or locality. This call was responded to by gentlemen living if a portion of the slave States; and why was not a representation from all the slaveholding States present in that convention? It was to be cause there are no citizens in that part of the country who sympathize with us, and believe country who sympathize with us, and believe auspices, this suicidal scheme is opened, we are in the doctrines of the Republican party, for mot prepared to say. But that there are ardent we have abundant evidence against this hythe question is to be definitively decided, soon Why was Mr. Underwood driven out of Vir er or later, we think there is little doubt. The

literty of speech, and freedom of action, are not tolerated or allowed in the South. Distinguished gentlemen from the South visit the free States, and publicly and privately a vocate their peculiar political doctrines; and they are treated courteously and kindly, and are listenwhen perhaps, if possible, some immediate means of emancipation would have been eager-ly embraced by some of the ablest spirits in our councils. And it may be, indeed, that the ed to respectfully; but let a Northern man go ed to respectfully; but let a Northern man go into the South, and preach the identical doctrines of Washington, of Jefferson, and Madison, he would be told to leave or subject himself to the model of the world, staring almost every man it he face, we are tauntingly told that opposite extreme of public sentiment on the subject, which now prevails with every class the Couplican party is a "sectional" organization. My own State, (Maine,) which gave other cause combined. The institution Slavery soon sunk deep into our social system; once embraced and incorporated among the elements of our organization, its influences, for good or for evil, extended rapidly in every mobbe them out of the State, and driven their familes out after them; and then suppose the suppose ers of Mr. Buchanan, when they carried them are set to the polls, had been told that they could or deposit them, and their only personal set ideended on their flight from the State; and it is suppose we had added in the interval to increase the suppose we had added in the state; direction, coloring everything it touched, and carrying weal or woe wherever it went, its agencies either immediately a mediately, rami-fied through every branch of business and principle of legislation; every vein and artery in the body politic were imbued with it. And being deemed an evil in the abstract by those honest and able but misguided men to whom we have alluded, it devolved upon them only to for the severy things, only vice versa, have been acted but, not in Maine, but in Virginia.

But in what kind of condition is the Demoprove their premises, and the catalogue of in-cidental ills would have been incalculable, when an end so desirable would have readily suggested the means; and on the other hand, it became incumbent upon their opposing cotem-poraries to disprove their theory, explode their false philosophy, and disabuse the public mind was "inional." If a similar appeal was made of the emancipation taint with which it was beginning to be affected, or to give up their by the Republican party to the people of the North, that was "sectional." Again, who elected Fuchanan President? Let one of your ground, and enter into a crusade against the sins and iniquities, the demoralizing and impoverishing effects of the institution of Slavery. investigation on both sides ensued, and the reand a scourge," but a social, political, and moral blessing, a special boon of Providence, both to the African and Anglo-Saxon races. Subjects Fort him only four States; and the he must so inscrutable in their origin, so profound in their philosophy, so intricate in their relations and so comprehensive in their influences, de-mand a thorough understanding in every form and phase, and accurate apprehension in every bearing and effect. And we cannot but believe that the emancipation movement in Missouri, however it may be abetted by the outside influences of Abolitionism in the North, after it has been deliberately discussed and analyzed

TO BE CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK .] THE LIFE DISTURBANCE IN KANSAS FUR-THER PARTICULARS.

Frem at about thirty thousand mojority, had deleges in the Cincinnati Convention; and

suppos the Republicans on their return had

- 347,525 Th 3. Louis papers bring us the particulars the late disturbance at Lecompton, Kauss Gen. Richardson, who died suddenly

and essayed, will eventuate in a more encourag

persons who were with him informed him that be respected in its rights as if the institution extended over the civilized world; if the Con-The General, after referring to the action of stitution is to be encroached upon, and the ical force of a numerical majority, the dissolution of the Union becomes a question of time, to be determined by such a division in the councils of the country, as to preponderate in favor of the opponents of our institutions.

It remains for the Administration inaugurated yesterday, together with a Democratic Congress, to test the sense of the people and the strength of the Union, by bringing back the Constitution to its primitive purity.

And if, in 1860, Abolitionism is still unchecked in its rampant ravings against the Robert Towns rights of the Southern people, the awful alternative of disunion must inevitably ensue. Missouri may emancipate or not, it will be the same to the South in the end.

MR. BINGHAM, M. C., ON THE MINNESOTA

BILL. At the request of Mr. Bingham, we reprint John B. Thompson John J. Crittenden his letter defending his vote on the Minnesota Judah P. Benjamin bill. Our own views on the whole subject the John Stide! reader will find in the editorial columns. We should have voted differently from Mr. Bing.

MAINE.

William P. Fessenden
MASSACHUSETTS. ham; but he is an honest man, a genuine Re- A Repui publican, no Know Nothing, and his vote was publican, no Know Nothing, and his vote was dictated by a conscientious conviction of duty. Anthony Kennety James A Pearce Those with whom he voted, however, were gen- Jefferson Davis erally more Know Nothing than Republican in

their views. To the Editor of the New York Tribune : SIR: Permit me, through your journal, to he Minnesota bill, which vote you characterize, in an article of the 3d instant, as an act of mis behaviour. You assume that an opportunity was given to offer amendments to this bill, and censure myself and others for letting this opportunity pass unimproved, and then voting

You are mistaken in your assumption. There was no opportunity given for amendment to this bill. Immediately upon its introduction, the previous question was demanded and sustained, thereby cutting off all amendment, and excluding all debate. There was no course left but simply to vote for or against the bill as reported by the committee. I voted against the bill because I considered and believed it to be wrong in principle and policy, and not because, as you seem to assume, that I was desirous to retard or prevent the formation and admission of a free State. The admission of a free State, formed within the Territory of Minnesota, is a consummation which I am as desirous to effect as you can be; but I doubt whether it is likely to be advanced by incorporating in the enabling act (as does this Min nesota bill) a provision which you impliedly

admit to be wrong.
You say that "it would have been perfectly proper, while the bill was open to amendment, to have moved that the right to vote in the election of the Constitutional Convention should be confined to aitizens of the United States.' If it would have been proper to have offered this amendment to the bill, it would have been proper to have adopted it; and so you admit, for you say "it would have prevailed without a show of opposition." If this provision was proper, was it not wrong to report and pass the Minnesota bill without it? The House so concluded immediately after the passage of this bill, by inserting, with great unanimity in the Oregon bill, this very provision which was wanting in the Minnesota bill. These two bills, as originally reported by the committee, authorized persons who were not citizens of the United States, either native or naturalized, but ALIENS, to vote for the election Governments within those Territories. The House struck this provision (without a show of opposition) from the Oregon bill, and inserted therein the amendment which you say it would have been "perfectly proper" to have inserted in the Minnesota bill. If it was right to strike this alien provision from the Oregon bill, it was wrong to retain it in the Minnesota

bill, and equally wrong to enact any such provision into a law.

It seems to me, that sound policy and principle demand that only citizens of the United States, naturalized and native, without distinction, should be authorized by Congressional enactment to form State Governments and Constitutions within our Territories. The importance of this restriction and limitation you admit, and the evil result likely to flow from the neglect of the House to insert it in the Minnesota bill, you very clearly suggest. This result, as stated by yourself, is, that the people of Minnesota may, under the sanction of this bill, insert in the State Constitution the provision that ALIENS owing allegiance to foreign Governments may exercise the right of suffrage in the proposed new State of Minnesota, and send rep-resentatives here to legislate over citizens of

the United States.

The uniform practice of twenty-seven States of the Union, excluding aliens from the exercise of suffrage, speaks in stern condemnation of this new policy. It is one thing to confer suffrage upon aliens within a Territory by a mere organic act for its government as a Territory, and quite another thing to authorize aliens by an enabling act to form a State Government and Constitution. By the organic act, Congress but prescribes the mode of petition through a Territorial Assembly, which petit on, or Territorial act, as it is called, it is expressly ginia, away from his own home and I is own State, after having attended the Phila elphia Convention? Why was Professor I edrick driven out of North Carolina? The an iver is at hand. It was because freedom of thought, and the professor is at hand, and the professor is at the p at hand. It was because freedom of thought, of ground, by the undaunted defenders of the they "must be allowed to exercise for themselves," subject to no limitations or restrictions except those imposed by the enabling act. It does not follow, because three or four new States have, without any authority of law, inaugurated this alien policy in their State organizations that the representatives in Congress ought to engraft that policy upon enabling acts, and thereby, in advance, give to it the sanction of

You admit that this ought not to have been done in this Minnesota bill, and that it would and craft of our people, is attributable more to the investigations and disquisitions induced by the doubts and fears of that day, than to every the doubts and fears of that day, than to every frage to any but citizens of the United States." agree with you in that; and because tha restriction was not imposed, I voted against that bill. The House justified this vote, by in serting the amendment in the Oregon bill re-stricting the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States, naturalized and native. It is quite apparent that, if this defect in the Minneota bill had been known before the previous question was demanded and ordered, that bill ould have been in like manner amended. The defect was not apparent upon the face of that bill, and could only be ascertained by a referencs to the organic act; and hence it escaped the notice of the majority of the House until after their votes had been recorded in its favor, and the bill had passed. I doubt not that those who voted for this bill were actuated by honest

purposes and patriotic motives.

As a Republican, desirous of the speedy and complete triumph of all the principles set forth in the Republican platform, and as a representative of the people, I cannot favor any legisla-tion which is conceded to be wrong, both in principle and policy. I freely accord to others the privilege of acting up to their convictions of duty, and demand the same right for myself. sult is that negro Slavery is now considered in the Southern States, not "a mildew, a blight, for the Oregon bill, and against the Minnesota bill. These two bills were in direct conflict in respect of a very important provision, and I could not, therefore, consistently vote for both. Very respectfully, yours,

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John P. Hale A Republican YORK. TENNESSEE.

- 1863 WISCONSI - 1861 A Republican Charles Durkee RECAPITULATION BY FIGURES. Democrats, (in Roman) -THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Two hundred and thirty-four members. 1. A. B. Greenwood.* 2. Ed. A. Warren.

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